UNITY

FREEDOM, FELLOWSHIP AND CHARACTER IN RELIGION

The Faith of the Artist - *James H. Cousins*

The Future of Adult Education - - - - - - - - - *William H. Kilpatrick*

The New Commonwealth Plan — Toward World Government - *Lewis A. Dexter*

The Professional Blight - *Joseph Ernest McAfee*

The Study Table

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The Field

"The world is my country, to do good is my Religion."

Tagore's Message to China

"You are the only great people in the world who never had the snobbishness of extolling the military power as one of the glorious characteristics of national spirit, and when the same brute force of militarism with its hideous efficiency has overtaken your country we pray with all our heart that you may come out of this trial once again to be able to justify your trust in the true heroism of higher humanity in this cowardly world ready to prove traitor to its own best ideals."

This message of hope and cheer which Dr. Rabindranath Tagore sent to the people of China through Prof. Tan Yun-Shan, Director of the Sino-Indian Cultural Society at the Viswabharati had, according to latest information received here, been recently handed over to the Honorable Marshal Chiang Kai-Shek. The poet's message was broadcast all over China at the desire of Marshal Chiang Kai-Shek and made a deep impression upon the people everywhere. The following is the full text of Dr. Tagore's message:

To the people of China,

Your neighboring nation which is largely indebted to you for the gift of your cultural wealth and therefore should naturally cultivate your comradeship for its own ultimate benefit, has suddenly developed a virulent infection of imperialistic rapacity imported from the West and turned the great chance of building the bulwark of a noble destiny in the East into a dismal disaster. Its loud bluster of power, its ruthless orgy of indiscriminate massacre of life, demolition of education centres, its callous defiance of all civilized codes of humanity have brought humiliation upon the modern spirit of Asia that is struggling to find its honored place in the forefront of modern age. It is all the more unfortunate because some of the proud powers of the West, tottering under the burden of their bloated prosperity, are timidly condoning the blood-shodden politics of the standard-bearers of their own highly reputed civilization, humbly bending their knees at the altar of indecent success that has blasted some time-honored citadel of sacred human rights.

At this desperate age of moral upset it is only natural for us to hope that the Continent which has produced the two greatest men, Buddha and Christ, in the whole course of human events, must still fulfill its responsibility to maintain the purest expression of character in the teeth of the scientific effrontery of the evil genius of man. Has not that expectation already shown its first luminous streak of fulfilment in the person of Gandhi in a historical horizon obscured by centuries of indignity? However, Japan has cynically refused its own great possibility, its noble heritage of "bushido" and has offered a most painful disillusionment to us in an unholy adventure through

(*Continued on page* 16)

UNITY

"He Hath Made of One All Nations of Men"

Volume CXXII MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 5, 1938 No. 1

EDITORIAL

Curtis W. Reese

POLITICS IN KENTUCKY

Down South in general, and in Kentucky in particular, people usually take their politics "straight." There are, however, issues and occasions when the most rock-ribbed southern Democrats will welcome Republican aid in a primary. Such was the case in the August Barkley-Chandler campaign for the Democratic nomination for United States Senator, which we saw and heard at first hand. A Chandler coalition of state job holders, anti-New Deal Democrats, and a variety of Republicans threw a scare into the ranks of New Deal Democrats that led to presidential intervention. Then came a real test of the President's influence in Kentucky. Governor Chandler is a first-rate campaigner. He knows people by their first names. He claimed to know more Kentuckians by "accident" than Barkley would ever know by "purpose." Moreover, he is really a good governor. He frankly says that he is the best governor Kentucky ever had—and he probably is. He was elected in 1935 on a platform of economy, repeal of the sales tax, and other reforms; on which he has in the main made good. Although a Northwestern graduate, he campaigns in real cracker vernacular. He said, "Old Albin's been in clover too long; now we're a-gonna turn him out in the stalk field." But Chandler had no real issue. He could not openly oppose the New Deal, for to do so meant certain defeat. He had to straddle; and in this position he is not at his best. Barkley, on the other hand, identified his campaign with the New Deal program. He rarely descended to personalities; although some of his campaigners did, notably John Young Brown—who, by the way, may be the next governor of Kentucky. Barkley raised the campaign to a national issue; and with the President's aid he won a victory that immediately put him in the front ranks of possibilities for the Democratic presidential nomination in 1940. The Senator is not a great statesman; but he is an able and solid representative of the period of transition by progressive steps from the conservative democracy of the old South to the emerging social democracy of the new South.

THE T. V. A. INQUIRY

By now it should be evident to the general public, as it has from the first to administrative experts, that the real cause of the T. V. A. difficulties from the very beginnings of that estimable experiment is lack of coördinated administrative responsibility. Arthur Morgan, Harcourt A. Morgan, and David Lilienthal are three capable and conscientious men. But not even such men can make a three-headed administrative monstrosity work efficiently and satisfactorily. As a spectator in the Knoxville Federal courtroom we noted the meticulous care with which the Committee of Inquiry brought to light a number of minor matters, such as the divergent views of the directors on what constitutes a "power yardstick," how rates should be fixed, the manner in which records are kept, the clashes of personality, and the varying views on "economy" and "fair competition" with private producers of power. But obviously the major administrative difficulty will require more competent executive experts than the Committee of Inquiry possesses. The T. V. A. directors should constitute a policy-determining board, and should not be executive heads of departments. It was a fatal blunder when executive responsibilities were divided up among the directors, who in their board capacity determined policies and who in their executive capacity reported to themselves. Any three capable persons will differ on important issues. But boards exist for the purpose of integrating differences and thus producing higher levels of thinking and planning. When the members of the board are under no compulsion to produce clear-cut policies for transmission to an executive whose only duty is to carry out the declared policies, and when the members of the board carry their own separate interpretation of decisions into executive action, you have a situation where dif-

ferences are magnified and are hopelessly entangled in the mesh of irreversible events. Social planners have yet to learn to use the cumulative insights and results of successful business administration as clarified and codified by the experts in the Schools of Administration. The T. V. A. needs an administrative "braintruster" in an advisory capacity.

THE HARLAN TRIAL "TENSE MOMENT"

The newspapers in reporting the Harlan trial in the Federal court of London, Kentucky, described the scene when a witness confessed to the acceptance of a bribe to swear falsely as a "tense and dramatic moment." Well, we chanced to sit in the London courtroom at precisely that moment, and we testify that the air was not electric and that the scene was not exciting. The poor little mountaineer simply told, in response to suitable and well phrased inquiries, how he had decided that he had "done wrong," confessed to his mother, and now wanted to change his testimony. The women kept chewing their gum, the men continued to loll in their seats, and the jurymen hardly batted an eye. It was "just another one of those things." Nevertheless, it was the kind of scene that should frighten good citizens. It serves notice that not even the witness box is sacred territory, and that perjury is a tool of unscrupulous persons. We wonder how many more have "borne false witness" and not confessed. "Testimony" at best is a weak link in a chain of evidence—even when the witness tries to tell the truth. Courts of law should be more insistent on the verification of testimony by relevant objective evidence. Come to think of it, perhaps the London courtroom was "tense and dramatic," and our testimony inadequate. Still in the absence of scientific instruments to detect and measure the emotions of the Harlan trial courtroom, we stand by our story and believe that the reporters were enlivening a dull day by a bit of journalistic hyperbole.

THE JEWISH-ARAB PROBLEM

Developments in Palestine give new emphasis to the fact that nothing is ever settled until it is settled wisely. As the arbiter, under the Balfour declaration, of the destinies of Palestine, Great Britain confronts an impossible task. No outside influence can settle the conflicting interests of Jews, Arabs, and Christians in the Holy Land. That can be done only by the residents of that unhappy country, although others may suggest and advise. We believe that the solution of the Arab-Jewish problem, i. e., "A United States of Palestine," suggested by Bernard A. Rosenblatt in the August 7th issue of UNITY, points in the right direction. There is nothing inherently insoluble in the Jewish-Arab problem. Elsewhere peoples differing as widely as Jews and Arabs have worked out their "accommodations." Should a pan-Arabic revival really get under way, which to us seems unlikely, even then we see no reason why an autonomous Jewish state within the larger pattern could not be given sanction by a suitable international treaty.

BEYOND PACIFISM

It would be enlightening to know precisely what is meant by the terms "isolation" and "collective security." They could hardly be absolute; they must be relative. Isolation is not possible, either physically or psychologically. No nation is sufficient unto itself. International trade is vital to national well-being. A war scare in central Europe registers immediately on the "ticker tape" in London and New York. We imagine that "isolation" merely means keeping a weather-eye out for national interests and staying out of war as long as possible. And believers in "collective security" certainly do not favor jumping into just any old war that comes along. They only want some sort of general agreement for mutual protection against international brigandage. These two kinds of peace advocates should be able to sit around a table and state clearly their respective philosophies and their proposed techniques for making them effective. Many genuine friends of peace are growing weary of labels with no clearly defined content. They believe that while many roads lead to the commonly accepted goal, nevertheless good engineers should be able to survey the best way possible in view of the contour of the land, and that good statesmen should be able to build the necessary bridges and supply the needed markers. The way to peace is not through the marshes of pacifist controversy over absolute standards, but through realistic facing of facts and inventiveness in dealing with them. Beyond pacifism lies the Pact of Paris and the struggle to rewrite international law and recondition international behavior in accordance therewith. And in this task hazy labels are of little value.

LOW COST HOUSING

Low cost housing as a substitute for adequate wages is a thing that no enlightened person will condone. No doubt a governmental housing program is the best means of meeting the present housing shortage and of establishing socially desirable standards of building and maintenance at reasonable rentals. But the government should not make low cost housing a means of subsidizing private industry. An industry that cannot in ordinary times pay a maintenance wage is inefficiently managed, takes too much profit, is overcrowded, or is not meeting a social need. Society does not owe such an industry a living—and if it did the subsidy should be direct and not indirect. Housing should be removed from the area of charity and made a major self-supporting governmental program.

The Faith of the Artist

JAMES H. COUSINS*

"Now faith is the substance of things hoped for, the evidence of things not seen," said Paul the Apostle in his Epistle to the Hebrews (xi 1); and a marginal note indicates the pliability of the translation by giving the words "ground or confidence" as alternatives for "substance." The faith of the artist, therefore, according to this long accepted definition of faith, is the ground or confidence of the things he hopes for in his artistic achievements.

In another Epistle, that to the Romans (viii, 24-25), the same Apostle lets us deeper into his thought in the assertion that "we are saved by hope" —the hope of which faith is the substance; and he expresses the spiritual dynamic of hope, its perpetual pull on the aspiration of humanity towards something beyond the horizon of immediate attainment, in the assertion that "hope that is attained is not hope"—which is the same thing as saying that when you have satisfied your hunger you have lost the spur of being hungry.

These definitions are quoted here not only as utterances of accepted scriptural authority, but as notable expressions of demonstrable truth. They are not true simply because they are in the Bible, as Frederick Robertson said of another statement in one of his immortal sermons, but are in the Bible because they are true. Apart from their value in religious exposition, they are excellent psychology. They bring into psychological unity the inward and outward directions of one phase of the human psyche: faith, the inner assurance, the substantial experiential ground, of hope; hope, the outward and visible movement towards a desired end which is only truly attained when it is the point of departure for "an end that aye recedes," as George Meredith chants in his "Hymn to Colour."

In every action of life, small or great, faith and hope are as inextricably blended as are the forward and apparently backward motions seen simultaneously in the upper and lower halves of a moving wheel. We move towards a desired end by means of coördinated activities that take their separate and conjoint capabilities for granted: that ink will continue to flow, and paper to retain color, and language to mean something, and the mind to shape and order thought. These—and other matters like the retention of its more or less horizontal position by a table, and of solidity by the earth— enter into the dynamic hope that the writer of this article is exercising in the direction of building out of symbols placed on paper an invisible edifice of thought; and not one edifice only, but many replicas in minds that share the writer's hope, and rest their hope on the faith-ground that sight will continue to see, and understanding to understand. Our activities are our hopes incarnate. We assume the validity and continuity of a score of mysteries by faith, by the assurance distilled from a myriad of forgotten experiences. Faith and hope are the subjective and objective directions of the intuition.

But hope is not exhausted in action. It is redemptive in its effect. "For we are saved by hope," wrote the Apostle; and by this salvation he meant any or all of the interpretations of the salvaging processes on which a million sermons have been preached—ultimate and never-ending felicity in heaven; escape from the damning results of sin; deliverance of the soul from the bondage of the body. The last implies an entity of spiritual quality that has become enslaved by its material appurtenances, but that can, by appropriate means, struggle back to its native liberty.

True action, action that is deliberate, action carried forward through hope by faith, has within itself the power of distilling experience that will enable the real self of the individual to attain liberation. Now this is precisely the power that the wisdom of India recognized as inherent in the highest form of human action, that is, creative expression; for it is set down in the scripture of Hindu art known as the *Vishnudharmottaram* that one of the functions of a work of art is to enable the observer to attain liberation (*moksha*), the liberation of the inner self from the allurements and enslavements of its external capacities and their characteristic desires.

Behind the liberating work of art—the artist's realized hope based on his faith—stands the artist without whom it could not exist. But it is necessary to consider what an artist is in reality in order to understand the faith of the artist—the ground or substance of his action, not his creed, religious or aesthetical.

In the general mind, out of which dictionaries are compiled, an artist is a practitioner of any fine art. If that were all, then the painters of certain pictures, and the writers of certain books, and the producers of certain talking-pictures, should be canonized as liberators of their fellows from the bondage of their lower selves. But they are not so canonized, despite the large areas of newspapers devoted to them, for last night's "stars" will be forgotten in the light of the stars of next week. They are forgotten because the senses to which they appeal are not gifted with continuity or memory; these capacities belong to the spirit; and it is only spiritual achievement that can count on longevity.

To be a practitioner of an art is not necessarily to be an artist, any more than to practise thinking is to be a philosopher, or to practise speech is to be a poet. A secondary dictionary definition—"one who makes his craft a fine art"—is in fact the primary characteristic of the artist: an individual who, whatever be the medium of expression of his hope, makes it the means of his own salvation, and, of necessity, of the salvation of others; that is, puts upon the gross exterior act the fine-art quality of ennobling, purifying, and liberating beauty.

This is the type of art which the wise one of old had in mind as a means to liberation. But it implied the expression of an equal beauty in the artist himself; and that quality was sought to be evoked, fixed, expanded, in his own nature by an attitude of reverence to his work, and of aspiration towards the highest which called for the disciplining of the lower powers of his endowment.

The reverence here spoken of is no sentimental

*Dr. Cousins, until recently Principal of a college in South India, is now head of the Department of Fine Arts of the University of Travancore, famous as the state whose Maharaja liberated the Untouchables.

solemnity regarded as the proper attitude towards a theological conception. Commendable as that attitude may be, it is inadequate. The artist's reverence arises out of the realization, through the practice of his creative calling, of the colossal weight of significance that rests as lightly as the breast feathers of a dove on the most insignificant of acts; the realization of the abysmal depths of experience that justify themselves by supporting the minute perfection of an instant's illumination or inspiration, as the vast ocean supports the momentary perfection of the microscopic foramenifera; the realization, also, that the terms largeness and smallness are false in so far as they suggest separateness, for the ultimate realization of the creative artist is that his faith, which is another term for illumination through experience, and his hope, which is a synonym for his creative activity, are not philosophical or theological abstractions, but his nominally distinctive participation in the Light that is behind all darkness and all lights, and in the Life that animates all lives.

The faith of the artist, whom the modern spectacle of lost faith confronts, is that creative art is now the only possible restorer of lost faith; not a revival of dogmatic religion, since science would appear to cut the theological ground from under the feet of the man-in-the-street; not science, or philosophy, for no partial reflection of reality either through observation or contemplation alone can take the place of the living experience of inner illumination and outer realization. But creative activity in the arts, and inclusively in the art of poetry, puts the whole nature of the artist in vital touch with the wholeness of the universal life.

How far the non-artistic mind can recede from the wholeness of true and worthy life is seen in a statement made in an article in a London magazine some short time ago by one of the industrial leaders of England. His reading of the significance of human history is this: "From the dawn of history, all human conflict and effort can be traced to a desire for greater real or implied riches that would provide greater comfort in the shape of better food, better clothes, more easily cultivated land, or more easily obtained sensual satisfaction." The argument is that this is the whole history of mankind, and the implication is that it is the kind of history man should go on making.

Sir James Jeans, seeking with imagination among cosmic mechanics for clues to the meaning of life by a wider and deeper study than that of the externals of history, has said in his book, *This Mysterious Universe,* that "the laws which nature obeys are less suggestive of those which a machine obeys in its motion than of those which a musician obeys in writing a fugue or a poet in composing a sonnet."

The mechanistic or non-artistic view of life, whose recent passing the astronomer notes, arose from an inadequate response to life on the part of those who formulated it; a response of science that was rigidly scientific, therefore on the way to error instead of truth; for the full significance of the sphere of truth cannot be encompassed by any mere line upon its surface, however accurate it may be as in science, or logical as in philosophy. Religion might have made a better show in front of science and philosophy (that is, rationalist philosophy), had it not allowed the same inadequacy to drive it into disagreements. Religious disagreement, however emotionally it is expressed, is mental in origin; that is, it arises out of reactions that become fixations in consciousness, and establishes and elaborates itself through the peculiar habit of humanity of identifying statements or personifications of truth with truth itself. No artist, least of all the Cosmic Musician-Poet Jeans, can look upon any of his "creations" as his last word. He lives in his next word, or the word after the next. His musical or verbal phrase is only made intelligible through the phrase that follows it, as it itself was made intelligible through the phrase that preceded it—and so on backwards, and so on forwards.

But the movement of life, the movement that makes fixity the great heresy, is not merely linear; figured as music, it has both harmony and harmonic overtones and undertones; figured as poetry it has these too, but it has them as the codes of ideas, as signals of an understanding and communication beyond the range of music, as music is emotionally beyond the range of poetry; with such a code, poetry is of special service to humanity at its present point in the cosmic utterance.

Happily for religion, it has had the capacity—not under inspiration of intellectual statement but of imagination directed towards living embodiments of reality—of moving individuals to poetry; and it is this poetry that can, if given full opportunity, save religion. The poetry of the Bible is universally recognized. The recognition, however, is not always due to a recognition of its intrinsic value. Poetry is largely regarded by "practical" individuals as "only poetry," as an irresponsible, demiofficial play of imagination or sentiment, intellectually negligible, useful for enjoyment but not for serious consideration, much less for application in the affairs of life. But human life that separates itself from its original poetry, separates itself from a primordial function of the universal life—creative expression—and becomes unpoetical, that is, disorderly, unbeautiful, self-destructive. It is in creative expression that life fulfills itself in the present and transmits itself to the future. The efforts of statesmen to find intellectual formulae on which to pivot national and international action are destined by their own nature to futility. They are blood-kindred to the literalism that, applied by pro-religionists of the dogmatic kind to their beliefs, has imprisoned, starved and depraved them, and, applied from outside, by unimaginative science or rationalism, has caricatured and outcast religion.

The redemptive hope, whereof the Apostle spake, lies in the emergence of an increasing number of artistically sensitive individuals to whom the poetry of scripture will signal its reality to their own reality, and evoke the creative collaboration that is the essential condition of life. When the scriptures of the world are treated imaginatively, not historically (though their historical content cannot be ignored), interpretatively, not doctrinally (though the mental formulation of reactions to reality cannot be displaced while language persists); when they are released from the chains of literalism into the freedom of poetry, the self-impoverishing and mutually destructive separations and exclusivenesses which have made religion powerless in the face of world-wide negation of its tenets will disappear—for imagination and interpretation are, like faith and hope, the two sides of one process; imagi-

nation moves from infinite essentials into finite locations; interpretation renders the finite and apparently separate back into its essential and infinite unity.

Yet, if this be a vain hope; if the disintegrative elements that human limitation has injected into religion are destined to carry on their processes of dry-rot to ultimate disintegration, they to whom poetry has revealed its reality may maintain composure in the assurance that, if all the scriptures of the world were burnt or lost, the essential truth of life, which is the essential truth of religion, could be restored from the vision and utterance of the poets, the great experiencers and expressors. It is not enough to live life: any bivalve or vertebrate can do so. The experience of living, such as the great poets have known it, can only attain the dignity and nobility of real Life when it becomes creatively artistic, deliberately and continually; can only attain the opulence of "life more abundant" on which a real civilization can be founded, when it becomes the hope-expression of the faith-inspiration.

There is a word of admonition to art itself, if it is not to falsify the faith of the artist. Art, any art, will deny itself the felicity and potency of inspiration so long as it cuts itself off from the ascensive effort of spiritual aspiration, as much of the art of the recent past in the western world has done. And there is a word of great hope for religion—that it has within itself, in the inspiration of its poetry and ideal personality, the possibility of taking its place as the supreme creative art, and of imposing upon the stuff of life the pattern and beauty and significance of man's most uncompromising dreams and labors towards a perfection whose realization is the aim of his faith and the inspiration of his hope.

The Future of Adult Education

WILLIAM H. KILPATRICK

It is not prophecy but the discussion of a desirable policy that constitutes the aim of this article. When we are clear on policy, steps can be directed intelligently. The finding of a defensible policy is thus the first step on the road toward intelligent action.

How shall we rank the adult education movement? From time to time new and highly significant advances appear in the development of civilization. Democratic government may be named as one such advance. Universal tax-supported education is another. Possibly a new economic democracy is even now arising to constitute a third. For myself, I am convinced that the adult education movement of our day ought to become important enough to be included with the others as a genuinely significant advance in the historic development of our civilization.

It frequently happens that when any such advance is coming to be recognized as significant, certain ones will seek to disparage it on the grounds that it is not really new. We have long had efforts and activities that could properly be called adult education. The assertion is true but the implication is false. Nothing significant ever springs suddenly into being, and it is no disparagement that any rising movement has long been present in unnamed anticipatory forms. The important thing is that a really new phase of conscious importance has been attained. This is now distinctly true of adult education.

That we have always had social activities and even institutions that educated out-of-school adults is clear beyond question. The New England town meeting was highly educative. The popular churches, especially where congregationally managed, have likewise had profound educative effect. Mechanics Institutes of an earlier day and labor unions of a later day have been more precisely educative. In fact, every organization of every sort that discusses its aims and plans is in so far educative. Political parties may thus be definitely educative. The most significantly informal educative movement in American history was the study of constitutional government that accompanied the American Revolution and culminated in the making of the Constitution. This is in fact one of the significant developments in the social-intellectual history of the world. That it was the result of widespread shared study seems beyond question. What we did then by a study of political democracy we should repeat in the next generation in the realm of economic-political management, only this time the study must be more widespread.

So far as appears, the term adult education came to this country from England just after the World War. Some of us recall meeting with Mr. Mansbridge as he told us of the movement in that country. England, in our eyes, is a curious compound of caste and democracy. Adult education was to them an effort to even up, in a measure, the education of the underprivileged. Not all Britishers agreed with Mr. Mansbridge but it seemed fairly evident, to me at any rate, that he meant adult education as a kind of social opiate to make the workers better contented with the station in life into which they had been born. His stress was on culture in preference to social and economic problems.

We have in this country our underprivileged also, but we are increasingly seeing that it is a state of affairs we cannot afford and that not simply from considerations of democratic justice and equality. Illiteracy is an economic handicap not simply to the illiterates themselves but also to our production system. The illiterates are by that very fact not as economically productive as a better education would make them. From a mere production-of-goods point of view we must raise the educational level of large numbers of our people. The cost in dollars would be more than offset by the added net income to the country at large.

The same thing is true of reëducation in trade and vocation. We cannot afford to scrap workers just because their particular skill has been outmoded by a new machine. We must reëducate them vocationally, and again not simply because it is the just and decent thing to save a man's morale but because it will pay the country in the increased output of productive goods that he can still furnish. This, too, will pay in dollars and cents.

But most strategic of these possible human savings are the unemployed adolescents. Unless we can somehow take adequate care of their morale and see them safely settled in jobs and married, with homes of their

own—unless these things can be done, this group becomes our chief source of criminals and derelicts, a price we cannot afford to pay. To take adequate educational care of these young people, with an education that fits them, is far less expensive in dollars and cents than to let them lose self-respect and drift into crime and vice.

These demands on us to take just and proper care of the underprivileged in our midst represent what may be called remedial lines of work. They are necessary, absolutely necessary, because of our past sins and present social shortcomings, but we must not be content with remedial work. It is the positive program of construction and prevention to which we must give greatest heed so as to make life finer and richer for all together. It is this long-term program that most concerns me, an intensive program—actually inclusive of everybody. It may be that the term adult education is too heavily laden with underprivileged implications to carry the burden we need to put on it. If so, let us adopt another name. As for that I care not; it is the thing that counts, the new social program of ever-continuing inclusive education.

And why do we wish or need universal adult education? The answer is clear. There has come a new need for continuous thinking in the world of human affairs. In an older day, custom and recognized authority ruled, custom in ordinary details, obedience to authority in new and greater matters. In a way that we of the modern world can hardly conceive, authority and unquestioned obedience thereto ruled among men. Politically we find this in feudalism and later in the divine right of kings. The same authority and unquestioned obedience ruled in religion, where the church or the book was the final appeal. A like authority and obedience ruled also in matters of thought. Men thought as they were told to think.

In various ways has this rule of custom and obedience been gradually broken down. The Renaissance reinstated a world of secular thought and refined enjoyment. The Reformation taught men, probably unwittingly and even unwillingly, to put individual conscience first. A new science taught men a new confidence in human thinking. Successive political revolutions in England and France united with this new science to destroy the divine right of kings and usher in eighteenth century liberalism and political democracy.

But still custom ruled for most people in most aspects of life. There came the industrial revolution with the later growth of technology and its application to large scale production. Life has become very different, with very, very rapid changes in ways of producing, in ways of living, in ways of thinking. The sway of tradition has been broken as never before. Greater changes of attitude have come in the past hundred years than in thousands before. Probably a larger proportion of our people are now uncertain what to think about fundamentals than was ever before true of any people in all of history.

But even this is not all. The Great War shook civilization to its depths. The great depression has made our people question our economic system as never before. And the end is not yet. With science growing in geometrical ratio, there promises ever more rapid change. New problems thus arise and must, so far as we can foresee, continue to arise forever. Modern man faces as never before the continual demand to meet and solve new problems. It is a permanent new demand, and we dare not refuse it.

Continually new problems mean continually new study. And if democracy holds—as I for one most sincerely hope it will—all must study, not simply the so-called leaders. Each one is a leader of some, and all must at least understand if they are to coöperate intelligently. And no twelve years of schooling, nor sixteen, nor any fixed amount, can suffice for the ever-coming new problems. All citizens must study, no matter what their previous learning. We must have nothing less than universal, ever-continuing adult education.

And how widely shall we study? What problems should engage our attention? For answer we ask, How wide is life? New situations and new problems may be expected to arise in all areas of life. Without proper study any affected aspect of life is in danger of not being as good as it should be. We can draw no lines to cut off any significant part of life. Our question can only be whether the matter counts sufficiently in life.

The remedial aspects mentioned earlier we must maintain. They constitute a positive moral and democratic duty which we cannot neglect. To attend to them pays, socially pays, measured by any standard; but in the long run the broader and deeper study of our civilization itself is what counts most. It is the most essential. It promises the greatest returns.

Who shall pay the bills for this universal study? The support must finally come from all the wealth of all the people. There is no other way. This means, as I see it, support by public tax money, partly local, partly state, partly national in order to even up inequalities. That the main work be tax-supported and therefore publicly controlled does not deny freedom to any and all to study as there will be volunteer organizations and otherwise. But in the long run only public support will suffice.

How shall this inclusive system of adult education be managed? The fundamental principle of management must be to serve, not to rule. Each local group must control itself, with the possibility of getting advice and help or support upon reasonable conditions. But there must be helpers and advisers provided at public expense, and these (not the people who study) must be managed by some scheme of shared local-state-and-national control. These helpers will stand ready to encourage study groups and forums, suggest possible lines of study with suggestive materials and sources.

Who shall say what shall be studied? Please notice that I did not ask, What shall be taught? Each local class group must be its own final judge of what it will study. In time, we shall hope that everything in reason —anything that is not positively hurtful—that is available for study, with positive help and encouragement, will be, so to say, "on tap." Naturally, we must begin with what seems most insistent. It is a great task we are undertaking and a long time will be required to get it all going.

And how will the study or work go on? In every conceivable way, depending on what is being studied. The most common may be a small discussion-study group. It may be, however, a machine shop in which vocational reëducation is going on. It may be a class working at wood-carving under the guidance of some

expert. It may be chorus singing under a leader. It may be group work with boys and girls in the cellar clubs of the poorer districts. It may be a class in English for foreigners. It may be a group of foreign-born wives and mothers learning better how to care for their children and families under American conditions. It may be a group of lawyers and business men studying our money system.

Whatever we do, we must get away as far as possible from the teacher-assignment, pupil-recitation notion of study. To continue that would be just plain movement-suicide. Grown people will never stand for it, and should not. It is bad for children, too, if the truth be told.

Will the system be propagandist? Where the matter is controversial, no. But where there is reasonable agreement among the capable in the field, genuine effort will be made to spread better practices, as we have long done with agriculture and homemaking. Where the matter is still controversial, care will be taken to have all significant options studied. The system as a system must be very careful not to be propagandist of any partisan position, particularly of the theory of the party that happens then to be in power. Contrariwise, the system must be careful to foster the genuine study of any significant problem. The words "genuine study" give the proper answer to our question.

But are the lecturers not to be permitted to say what they honestly believe? Most certainly they will be so permitted, but they must know that it is study and not indoctrination that they are seeking. In particular the system must afford in any public forum fair opportunity for the proponents of the unpopular side. This is the acid test of free speech and free study. It is genuine study by the people that we seek.

When is all this to begin? It has already begun. The depression has helped to give it a great start. And we shall never permanently give up any part of it which shows that it serves a real need. This is the next great educational movement. It has begun. It will continue. May it come in fullness, and speedily!

The New Commonwealth Plan—Toward World Government

LEWIS A. DEXTER

Force without justice is chaos.

Justice without force is impotence.

Joseph Barth in a previous article in UNITY has pointed out the necessity of establishing a world governmental system in order to guarantee permanent peace. He has described the essentials of such a world system—a world police force and a world authority capable of settling nonjusticiable disputes between nations on a basis of common fairness.

His argument may be accepted as unquestionably sound. But how are we to construct these world agencies?

The New Commonwealth Society is devoting its efforts to answering this question. Here are its conclusions thus far:*

A world police force is possible as well as desirable. There are no insurmountable technical difficulties which would have to be overcome before one could be set up. It is far easier today to plan an effective police force for the world than it would have been in 1789 to plan an effective police force for the United States.

We are constantly being told that science is making war more terrible, and this is undeniably true. But it is true only so long as international anarchy continues.

The horrors of scientific warfare are largely due to the multiplication and the *differentiation* of weapons. A hundred and fifty years ago weapons necessary for the militia to maintain internal order were the same weapons with which foreign wars were fought.

But, as a general rule, it has been found possible to differentiate between the weapons entrusted to the constabularies and the equipment of the military forces. The time has now arrived when the scope of differentiation can be extended; a new category of weapons has emerged upon the scene whose origin is directly attributable to the application of science to the military problems of the Great War; so the principle of differentiation can now be applied to national armories.

These newer weapons can be handed over to an international authority at the same time leaving to the national militia sufficient military equipment to suppress any internal riot or rebellion.

If, then, the new weapons, weapons which have appeared upon the scene since 1914, were to be handed over to a world police force as its monopoly, it would be in a position to prevent any national group from indulging in any act of aggression. It is true that a centralized system for control of poison gas might be difficult but poison gas, although an extremely "effective" auxiliary weapon, is not a weapon which by itself is of any decisive value.

Submarines, airplanes, aircraft carriers, tanks come within the list of weapons which must be handed over to a world police force. For a brief period, this principle of differentiation was applied to Germany. She was not permitted to keep any weapons over and above those which were judged necessary for the maintenance of internal order.

Had the so-called victor nations also been willing to sacrifice their "national sovereignty" by giving up their newer weapons, peace might have been possible. But none of them was willing to do so, primarily because they could obtain no guaranties of collective security.

They could obtain no guaranties of collective

*Obviously no one individual can purport to represent the views of numerous others, but in general and with minor exceptions the following proposals are accepted without question by most of the leaders of the New Commonwealth.

security because (1) they were not willing to consent to the existence of a genuinely international police force, and (2) they were each individually unwilling to *give* any guaranties of collective justice. Collective security is impossible without collective justice.

Nothing but a world police force will succeed in guaranteeing permanent peace. Even then, however, it must be a permanent world police, not a police force recruited or assembled *ad hoc* in case of emergency. Here, again, any compromise would rob the scheme of its value. Thus the French plan, which expected the nations to place their deadlier weapons at the disposal of the League in time of need, would of necessity fail in practice, since it is just in such emergencies that nations would be loath to part with their most effective arms. Also the assembling and organizing of such a force *ad hoc* would be slow and ineffective.

A world police force to be effective must be:

(1) Permanent, ready to act at once wherever its protection is needed. The police force will have to consist largely of an air force with enough troop-carrying planes, stationed at strategic points.

(2) Denationalized. Those who enter the police force for the time of service should lose their nationality and receive a super-national status. They would be the first world citizens; they would have to think in terms of the world, not in terms of any one nation. Those who belong to the General Staff might even give up their nationality for life.

Given wise management for a few years, disloyalty should be unthinkable. There are many loyalties which are as strong as national loyalties. Loyalty in the Foreign Legion is by no means the only example. Men are most loyal to that claim which is most intimate. Skillful planning can associate intimate loyalties with world government instead of with national government.

(3) Concentrated in a number of denationalized zones of strategic importance. Such zones would resort directly under the World Authority and would be suitable centers.

There are political conditions which are necessary if an international police force is to be effective, among them:

(1) National Disarmament of all the newer weapons, together with a system of supervision of national armaments.

(2) A tribunal for all those non-legal disputes which hitherto were settled by war and for which a World Court is not the suitable place. Without such a tribunal, a world police force might indeed merely perpetuate existing injustices, causing a rigidity of international conditions which the forces of change would inevitably break. Conflicts of interests caused by changes in conditions call not for legal decision but for common sense and fairness in their solution.

Such a system, and such a system alone, will make possible the momentous transition from world anarchy to world order. It fulfills all the essential conditions for establishing a rule of law and justice between nations:

It makes war impossible, not just unlikely.

It can prevent—not merely punish—aggression.

The present League sanctions-scheme, a half-way approach to world government, operates so that if any nation feels genuinely like backing it up, it fears that it may be left out on a limb. A world police system would remove this fear.

It makes disarmament not only safe but essential.

It can prevent any nation from taking violent action to resist verdicts of a World Court or Tribunal.

It can fulfill the French desire for security, the small nations' desire for equality, the American desire not to be involved in foreign war.

What should an International Fairness (Equity) Tribunal do? How should it be chosen? What will actually be feasible when and if a world order is established will depend upon current political circumstances; but some of us believe that it is important that we, as workers for world government, should attempt to popularize belief in a strong international authority.

Here again the problem is not to discover the precise technique by which, for instance, civil aviation shall be regulated, or the particular manner in which the formal relationships between the civilian executives of the Tribunal and the military heads of the world police force shall be set up. These are problems which students of public administration and international organization can be trusted to solve.

The method of choosing members of such a super-national tribunal might perhaps be mentioned. Not all the members should be chosen by direct election; it is obvious that none of them should be appointees in any way responsible to or dependent upon their national governments. A method of making the Tribunal and the world police force independent of direct annual financial quotas from the member nations must also be planned, if the most satisfactory results are to be obtained.

Several ingenious methods have been put forward by which members of the Fairness Tribunal might be selected. They suffer from the disadvantage that they are rather complicated to explain to the general public, unless we are prepared to argue for direct election, which would seem premature for a generation or so. However, no one of them is as complicated as the way by which judges of the World Court are chosen; and that particular plan has proved entirely workable.

One scheme suggested is that the basic charter or agreement by which the first Equity Tribunal is appointed should provide a list of the (for instance) fifteen members who should be chosen. By lot, one of them should be selected to serve eight years; two, seven; two, six; two, five; and so on down to one year. The national legislatures of the various member countries, either directly or preferably through appropriate committees or agencies representing them, should nominate each year a number of men (for instance, eight) to fill the vacancy, of whom not more than two should be their own nationals and of whom two must represent a different cultural group entirely.

No nominees should be considered eligible for election unless nominated by at least eight different countries. In case a number of nominees are so nominated, a kind of electoral college, consisting of representatives of the various other international organizations such as the International Labor Or-

ganization, should, after consultation with the other members of the Tribunal, select the members of the Tribunal.

All these military and political questions can be solved if there is a will to solve them; which means four things:

(1) We must realize where we stand in relation to developments in current international affairs. Those of us who are concerned with them at all are often so busy plugging holes in a badly-constructed and ineffective dyke that we have no imagination left to enable us to plan a levee system that will protect us permanently from the floods of war.

(2) We must be willing, furthermore, to face the probability that there will be another war before we can get sufficient support for such a system, but that does not mean ultimate defeat. In the meantime, frail and feeble as it is, we must recognize that the League of Nations is the only light in all the darkness, and that there is still a chance that it can be built up into a genuine world federation, possessing agencies of force and peaceful change at its command.

(3) We must realize, also, that a world police force to be effective must possess the support of at least three of the seven great military-economic nations of the world. Regional pacts within the system of balance-of-power politics may or may not stave off war for a year or two; they will not end the war system.

(4) We must envisage the possibility that initially an international police force system will be established with the support of the United States of America, the British Empire, France, Holland, and Switzerland, and the smaller nations which, excepting the Fascist powers, would then inevitably join in. This would not be a universal federation; but it would be a federation strong enough to prevent any act of aggression and forestall any world war; and it should always be in the position of saying to those nations outside, "You can join in if you give the necessary guaranties of disarmament, etc."

And if there is another great war, so long as we are able we must double and redouble our insistence that world federation is the way out; so that, when the war is over and the war-weary peoples again cry for peace, as they did after the last one, they will have become familiar with a solution that will once and for all put an end to the whole iniquitous system of international anarchy and national warfare.

Finally, what is being done concretely to advance these ideas? Many leading European statesmen and scholars have endorsed them, such as G. H. Barnes, Winston Churchill, Viscount Snowden, Clement Attlee, Lord Davies, Noel Baker, Norman Angell, Pierre Cot, Politis of Greece, Hambro of Norway, John Buchan (Lord Tweedsmuir), et al. Strong support exists in England, Switzerland, New Zealand (which government actually proposed to the League that it reform itself along the New Commonwealth lines), and to some degree in Czechoslovakia, Turkey, and Sweden.

An American Section has just recently been established, which has been fortunate enough to obtain the coöperation of several organizations in the study of its program, among which must be mentioned especially the National Conference on the Cause and Cure of War, the American Unitarian Association (Department of Social Relations), the Young People's Religious Union, and the League of Nations Association. Among its supporters in this country may be listed such men as Henry Goddard Leach, Ralph Sockman, Samuel A. Eliot, Palfrey Perkins, Sarah Wambaugh, Hamilton Holt, Father Donald MacLean, Mrs. Edgerton Parsons, Prof. Eugene Staley of the Fletcher School, and Prof. Frederick Schuman of Williams, et al.

But little has been done compared with what ought to be done because we have not had enough co-workers. We have lost many precious hours; but the tide has not yet completely ebbed. The time has not come when we must despair; but the hour has arrived when we must act or reconcile ourselves to watching our civilization destroyed by barbarism without and barbarism within.

The Professional Blight

JOSEPH ERNEST McAFEE

Civilization seems fated to frustrate and destroy itself. I say it seems fated; it is the business of intelligence to dispel this illusion.

The progress and upward rise of civilization is attended and inspired by the spread of the professional spirit and the professional mode. The two or three learned professions which the modern age inherited from earlier centuries have multiplied and branched until every important operation of the social scheme has become a specialty, and every vocation a profession. Even window washing and rug cleaning are no longer operations which can be entrusted to the tyro. Special training, special skill, special and increasingly intricate implements are required for satisfactory achievement in any socially significant line of endeavor.

Each of these professions arises out of and thrives upon a felt need of the community. Yet in meeting that need the profession tends to put itself out of business, in the degree that it succeeds; and often the temptation is irresistible deliberately to create or perpetuate the need, so as to insure a field for the profession's activities. I once boarded at a hotel where, with his wife, the agent for a widely proclaimed insecticide was lodging. The wife was forever seeking to restrain efforts to suppress breeding centers of the fly because, as she half-jokingly and half-seriously maintained, the complete elimination of the pest would cripple or destroy her husband's business.

The dilemma of the doctor has often been commented upon, even by physicians themselves. Unless the patients keep coming the doctor's income suffers. The most vehement opposition to socialized medicine and health service comes from doctors, and the ground of their resistance can often be finally traced

to anxiety for their financial prosperity. The argument which is generally used to win over the doctors is that the socialized program will in the end insure larger and steadier income for them. The good of the public dare not be urged as the sole and conclusive consideration. Unless the doctors can be convinced that their profession will in the long run profit by the move, it is well understood that their opposition cannot be effectively overcome.

It is not always true that a profession exists to make itself dispensable, but the tendency of professions to make themselves permanently indispensable, even at the expense of needlessly perpetuating conditions crippling to the community, is so strong that few professions of their own initiative clean up their job and dispense with themselves.

Most of the movements completely to eradicate widely prevalent diseases are pushed to success by lay enterprise; and physicians committed to the furthering of such movements have as a rule abandoned "private" practice in that field. The urge to keep the patient coming, especially if he is possessed of abundant personal wealth, is quite too much for physicians generally engaged in private practice to resist.

Even the vocations which minister to the persistent and unfailing human needs tend to overreach. The food vendor and producer, the hotel chef and the caterer are in considerable measure responsible for the almost universal tendency among the opulent to overeat. Even in a society such as ours where millions go without adequate food supplies, other millions are being seduced and cajoled by the cunning arts of the advertiser, who serves the exploiter first and the public secondarily, to overindulge in foods and drinks.

In short, no balance has yet been arrived at whereby permanent needs are supplied just enough and not too much, whereby eradicable evils can be permanently disposed of, whereby the interests of the serving profession exactly coincide with those of the served community. Is this, then, simply a refinement of the everlasting dilemma of evolution, namely, harmony of self-interest and social interest, survival of both the individual and the community, avoidance of stagnation or frustration certain to result from submergence of one aim in the other?

This dilemma is a fact, whether necessary or unreal. It crops out everywhere in nature's evolutionary experiments. One species goes to an extreme in one direction, and sticks in hopeless stagnation. Another species goes to an extreme in the opposite direction, and extinguishes itself through social incapacity, or condemns itself to a precarious survival.

The common types of fish and many species of insect perpetuate themselves by sheer fecundity, recklessly subordinating the individual to the requirements of the species' survival. The mortality among infants, and adults also, in these species is incredible. At the same time the most secure species supplement their fecundity with a social organization which is often the marvel of the observing scientist. Among all such, the world is more and more, and the individual is less and less.

On the other hand, species of mammals have from time to time emerged, and then been driven to extinction by the very grace of individuation which enabled them to rise in the scale of existence. It might be fortunate for the wolf to realize what Kipling recommends that he shall learn, namely, that the strength of the wolf is in the pack, but as a matter of fact, the wolf has not been able to hold his own in a world where other mammals have learned that lesson more intelligently.

What is the answer for the human race? How shall the balance be preserved? How may it come about that the individual shall be just enough, and the world likewise be restrained from overbearance? An excess of fecundity threatens here, and the increasing sterility of a race threatens over there. The profession of the soldier is exalted in the demand for the preservation of the life of the community, and the soldier, seized of power, forthwith abuses it, and speedily wrecks—through the breeding of group ambitions, greed of more power and inevitable schism—the community whose existence he at first so valiantly defended.

The lawyer is thrust forward to shape and administer laws to insure justice and safeguard the integrity of the community; and left to itself, the profession invariably prostitutes prerogative to personal and guild interests, until courts become centers of injustice, and peace-loving citizens by every device which ingenuity can contrive seek to avoid falling into the clutches of the courts. It passes into a proverb: Only fools go to law.

In zeal for the common benefits of invention and organized industry and mass production, the entrepreneur is thrust to the fore, as in our advanced civilizations of today, and his greed to claim for himself and his exclusive group the lion's share of the common products converts him veritably into a beast of prey, and threatens the wreck of the social organism he set out to build.

And the woes of professionalized religion are too numerous to catalogue, and too patent to need it. The conviction grows among the laity that the only hope of religion is its conclusive removal from its now widespread and historic ecclesiastical domination.

Is there any sure and permanent rescue from this bewildering seesaw, this perpetual rise of social values through professional specialization and inevitable wreck by excesses of the specialist of the fabric which his skill has contrived? Must civilization continue forever to frustrate itself, dig its own grave, destroy itself?

Of course it need not so continue. Of course the seesaw can be restrained and the social organism brought to stability, the stability of orderly and unfailing progress. That is what intelligence is for. The blight arises from the arbitrary inhibition of intelligence, not from its legitimate employment.

In the first place, the apparent dilemma must be resolved. There is no essential dilemma. In the second place, the balance can never be preserved by preachments, by the sheer pressure of scolding or cajolery, by mystical tricks either of cowled priest or of blustering or smirking politician, nor by the supervention of miracle, human or divine. In the third place, the professional blight can be removed not by suppression of professionalism, but by the intensification and multiplication of its expressions within the inspirations of a sane philosophy of life. Such a philosophy can issue only from the solution of the initial dilemma which we commonly take to be so fundamental—and hopeless.

And how? Oh, well, that discussion is a large order, and a continuing process. In spite of the imminence of civilization's collapse, and the apparently

urgent need of doing something quick and summary, perhaps the most important move at the present moment is the pursuit of that philosophy of life which shall effectually dissolve the so-called fundamental dilemma. How are you doing that thing, fellow-citizen of an enlightened democracy? Are you looking for some magician, a super-politician, a super-business executive, a super-ecclesiastic, a super-Jew baiter or criminal chaser, a super-weaver of a formula of any sort, to lead us out of the slough? We would better forget them all, and get down to the business of constructing a philosophy of life which serves its assigned purpose, makes life worth living, civilization worth perpetuating, gives the individual an end to serve, an end worth serving.

That thing each must do for himself. We need all the help we can get, but let none delude himself into believing that anybody else, man or superman, human or divine, can do it for him, hand him ready-made a philosophy which will stand the wear. You loosen the fundaments of civilization when you permit anybody else to usurp the function exclusively yours.

Trumpets on New Horizons

Who Will Cry for Builders?
(Labor Day, 1938)

The narrow islands of all our discontent
Are dimly starred and wanly mooned.
We pace the crooked pathways, harsh and spent,
And stonily marooned.

Love alone can throw the rescue bridge
And link us all in continents of light.
Oh, who will cry upon the highest ridge
For builders through the night?

LUCIA TRENT.

Telegram Boy

Telegram boy with your time-lost air,
Deep in your thriller at foot of the stair,
Why should you haunt me with wistful despair?

I remember a boy exactly like you:
In every village till news came through
He read of the War, then off he flew.

And the clang of his bell, his dismounting tread
Throughout the world was worse than dread
To women who waited and shook and said:
"Is mine of the millions missing and dead?"

Like a fevered world this office is thick
With telephone burr and the morse's tick,
And the rumor of darkness where armaments click.

Telegram boy with your time-lost air,
Wake, there is treachery that cannot be said
Around your young and innocent head.
What bell was it rang? What news will you bear?

GEOFFREY JOHNSON.

After the Air Raid

We left the cellar; sky was clear as far as eye could see,
But earth disclosed a scene that seemed an unreality:

The buildings wrecked, as though a toddling boy with peevish frown
Had charged his brother's town-of-blocks and kicked the houses down,

The bodies quaintly strewn about with faces in the dirt,
The screaming orphan clinging to her mother's bloody skirt,

The littered streets, the shattered arms as wounded rose again,
They made it very hard to think this was the work of men.

One tried to feel it was unreal—yet how could one explain—
The dead *were* dead. The blood *was* red. The mangled *seemed* in pain.

R. L. JENKINS.

Three Armies

We vaunted a single army
When the tocsin grated shrill—
The prime of patrician manhood
As grist for Mars' lethal mill.

But three armies paused to ponder
The strange carillon of peace,
When bullets had marred virile beauty
And Armistice guns rolled release;

A legion of shellshocked cripples;
Long columns of mourners in tears;
And a host who grew sleek on the carnage—
The hellborn profiteers!

GORDON LECLAIRE.

Growing Godward

This tree that towers gloriously high
Did not attain its grandeur through a day,
A narrow year. From mould it grew away
To bring in unity the earth and sky.
These knobs that mark where growth was turned awry
Once threatened beauty's pattern through decay.
Now host to sun and shadow interplay,
This tree has triumphed, lifting heart and eye.

I will not cringe within the crushing grip
Of any downward growth or any bruise
That thwarts the soul, recalling mouldy place.
I'll rise from false direction. I will use
Each blessed wound and scar to help me tip
My upmost flower toward One Illumined Face.

IDA ELAINE JAMES.

The Study Table

Book Notes

JEWISH COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION IN THE UNITED STATES. *By Maurice J. Karpf.* 234 *pp. New York: Bloch Publishing Company.*

A condensed but thoroughly reliable description of the main Jewish organizational activities in America, with special reference to social service agencies; a thoughtful, but somewhat conservative, treatment of Jewish problems in connection with the maintenance of Jewish community life; and an appeal for wider acceptance of professional leadership by the laity now largely controlling Jewish organizational activities.

* * *

NEW HORIZONS FOR THE FAMILY. *By Una Bernard Sait.* 722 *pp. New York: The Macmillan Company.* $4.00.

An excellent statement of the Family in its multiple relationships, both ancient and modern; a ready reference for family service social workers; and an indispensable handbook for leaders of parent education groups.

* * *

STEP BY STEP IN SEX EDUCATION. *By Edith Hale Swift.* 207 *pp. New York: The Macmillan Company.* $2.00.

A somewhat oversimplified set of steps illustrating, in dialogue form, a method of sex education, which the author believes will lead the child gradually and unemotionally to the possession of facts of vital concern in the living of a normal and happy life.

* * *

ON JOURNEY. *By Vida Scudder.* 445 *pp. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., Inc.* $4.00.

A fascinating story of the physical and spiritual journey of a great teacher and a great soul, from her birth in the home of a missionary in Madura, India, through a long and rich life in various parts of the globe, working for peace, justice, and humanity, to a serene old age—"putting away utterly all loves born of purpose."

* * *

THE OLD SOUTH: STRUGGLES FOR DEMOCRACY. *By William E. Dodd.* 312 *pp. New York: The Macmillan Company.* $3.75.

An authoritative chronicle of the beginnings and the expansion of social and political life in the Old South, written by a native of the newer South who through diligent and scholarly research has produced a record of permanent historical worth to students of early America.

* * *

TOM WATSON: AGRARIAN REBEL. *By C. Vann Woodward.* 518 *pp. New York: The Macmillan Company.* $3.75.

An epic story of the rise of the agricultural revolt in the South and its spread to the West and North, until it reached national scope—only to suffer sudden collapse; a tragic story of the early struggle of a great personality to establish interracial and intersectional coöperation for large democratic purposes, failing which the hero descended to the lowest depths of bigotry and intolerance.

A SOUTHERNER DISCOVERS THE SOUTH. *By Jonathan Daniels.* 346 *pp. New York: The Macmillan Company.* $3.00.

A readable and illuminating record of the observations of a southern editor on a tour of his native Southland; a revealing picture of the newer southern democracy, together with the peculiar problems that confront its statesmen.

* * *

IT BEGAN IN GALILEE. *By Reginald J. Barker.* 317 *pp. Nashville, Tennessee: Cokesbury Press.* $2.50.

According to the author, Christianity, being born in a hostile environment and being uncompromising in its idealism, was in its very nature revolutionary. There being no distinction between personal and social religion, Christianity now must aim at a totally spiritual order. The great need of Christianity today is a new revolutionary revival; which, however, will not be a mass movement but will spring from one or a few genuinely Christian leaders.

* * *

WORSHIP PROGRAMS AND STORIES FOR YOUNG PEOPLE. *By Alice A. Bays.* 258 *pp. Nashville, Tennessee: Cokesbury Press.* $2.00.

The use of this volume by evangelical Christian young people's groups would introduce a measure of form into the usually formless worship programs of such organizations; but it would need to be supplemented by local originality to give vitality to the service.

* * *

MORE CHAPEL TALKS. *By Elbert Russell.* 222 *pp. Nashville, Tennessee: Cokesbury Press.* $1.50.

In which the good Dean of the School of Religion at Duke comments to the students who attend chapel on various and sundry subjects, including "The Sins of Dives," "The Sins of Judas," and "The Christlikeness of God." Despite a preponderance of theological and mystical terminology, the Dean gives wholesome advice on personal and social living in the present-day scene.

CURTIS W. REESE

A Champion of Democracy

THE COMING VICTORY OF DEMOCRACY. *By Thomas Mann.* 67 *pp. New York City: Alfred A. Knopf.* $1.00.

With this little volume the distinguished German man of letters, author of such epochal novels as the Nobel prize-winner *The Buddenbrocks, The Magic Mountain,* and more recently the *Joseph* trilogy, enters the list as champion of democracy. His ardent endorsement of "the middle way" between the Scylla of Fascism and the Charybdis of Communism will not come as a surprise to those who know Mann not only as an apostle of liberalism and freedom but also as a martyr for his moral and political convictions and as a refugee from Nazi Germany.

Mr. Mann is reported to have applied for American citizenship, and after reading this English version

by Agnes E. Meyer of the somewhat shorter original German lecture, delivered by Mr. Mann on his coast-to-coast lecture tour in this country from February to May of this year, one is inclined to say that a better brief for the applicant could hardly be submitted.

Obviously, there is no place in present-day Germany for a man of such independent and "radical" ideas, i. e., radical to Messrs. Hitler, Goebbels, Rosenberg, et al; and surely, whatever one may think of the wider implications of the immigration problem, it is precisely such freedom-loving souls that Americans should welcome with open arms.

Mr. Mann wields a pen that can be as trenchantly critical as it can be fundamentally enlightening and amusingly entertaining. In this instance, his literary rapier is pointed with logic and dipped in vitriol. Take for instance his comparison between the *Weltanschauungen* of Fascism and Democracy as expressed in the megalo-maniacal public building program of the former and the housing plan of our own government; or take his keen differentiation between the pseudo-Socialism of German National Socialism that is bound to lead to war and international chaos and the ideal of social democracy that seems to be becoming more and more the objective of the western liberal governments.

Mr. Mann warns the western democracies to revise their own concepts of freedom, security, and peace in terms of a social and industrial democracy which, to quote the Frenchman Le Cour Grand-Maison, "will create a true hierarchy of values, put money in the service of production, production in the service of humanity, and humanity itself in the service of an ideal which gives meaning to life."

The book closes with this peroration to America:

> America has received much from Europe, and that debt will be amply repaid if, by saving our traditional values from the present gloom, she can preserve them for a brighter future that will once again find Europe and America united in the great tasks of humanity.

KARL M. CHWOROWSKY

What Is Americanism?

AMERICA'S PURPOSE. *By Alfred J. Snyder.* 375 *pp. Philadelphia: The Declaration Press.* $3.00.

Mr. Snyder has written an interesting and important book—and a very timely one in this age of furious discussion of democracy as over against Fascism, Communism, and various phases of revolutionary social change. He believes that America embodies something precious not only for herself but for the world, and he would describe what this something is and how it may be fulfilled and thus preserved.

Mr. Snyder's discussion moves in the field of ideas rather than of contemporary events. He would take us back to first principles, and thus acquaint us anew with Americanism as it was introduced into the world in the Declaration of Independence, and with its high purposes from that day to our own. What he believes, and eloquently sets forth in these pages, is the familiar doctrine that there are certain laws of human association inherent in the very nature of man, and that these laws were first formally proclaimed to the world in our immortal Declaration, and first built into the structure of government in our equally immortal Constitution. We doubt if biologically and sociologically the facts are quite as simple as this, but philosophically there is much to be said for such interpretation of history. The natural laws which interest and impress Mr. Snyder are those which center about the great concept of human equality. Democracy, as achieved in the American republic, was dedicated to the end of destroying all political and social inequalities among men, and establishing those "equal rights" to life, liberty, and happiness which have ever been the true quest of the people of this country.

In a lengthy review of what has happened to this ideal of equality during a century and a half of history, the author finds much to cheer him in politics and society generally. America has justified herself in many ways! But in the economic field, there is a different story to tell! Here the struggle for wealth and its amassing in the hands not of the many but of the few—the vast production achieved by incalculable human energy applied to immeasurable natural resources, but matched by no adequate and equitable system of distribution—has led to the creation of new inequalities in society of which our fathers dreamed not. Our American democracy, as the embodiment of the natural law of human equality, is threatened with destruction. It is this which constitutes the crisis of the hour.

In seeking solutions, Mr. Snyder turns to Fascism and Communism, but rejects them both. "Fascism," he writes, "is the doctrine of brute force, and Communism is the philosophy of the hungry man. The philosophy of Americanism represents the viewpoint of the man with mental and physical vigor." All remedies for our ills lie in Americanism, but not in any futile return to the primitive individualistic standards and ways of early American life. Mr. Snyder would go forward to new social undertakings for the common welfare, and use the powers of government in the people's interest. "To achieve this ambitious purpose," he writes, "requires an active government. It cannot be a passive 'policeman' in the affairs of its people. The field of our government's activity must be limited only by the boundaries of society." Thus, he would have the natural resources of the nation "owned equally by the people . . . government ownership of natural property." Great industries he would not destroy, nor even try to regulate, but take over publicly, "and extend their benefits to all society." The basic thing is to recognize inequalities wherever they exist, and correct them by drastic action on behalf of all the people.

Mr. Snyder's book lacks detailed programs—it never really gets over from the field of philosophical thought into the field of pragmatic policies and programs. But as a restatement of American principle, and a reassurance of American idealism, it has real value. Especially interesting are the great number of citations from famous American statesmen and thinkers, notably Thomas Paine, in interpretation of "America's purpose."

JOHN HAYNES HOLMES.

Editor John Haynes Holmes, now in Europe, will contribute special news letters giving his observations on European events, beginning in the next issue of UNITY.

Correspondence

Prisoners of Hope

Editor of UNITY:

Even William James would be hard put to it to gain the "moral holiday" he advocated, for the two young Belgian C. O.'s, Henri and Constant Spiessens, now working out their "moral substitute for war" in the Van der Vorst Prison, Antwerp!

Certainly it seems up to the rest of us, fresh from sea or mountain, to add our letters to those now pouring in to the Belgian Prime Minister, his Excellency, the Honorable Paul Henri Spaak, urging him to review the cases of these two young men, and to grant them freedom alike from prison and from military service. For the account of the brothers' repeated hardships adds a stirring chapter to the July *War Resister*.

This past fortnight the War Resisters League and the Women's Peace Union have been circulating, as they could, a reprint of this, together with a letter urging American men and women to appeal to Monsieur Spaak, for these young soldiers of Peace. It is not hard for Pacifists, or even good civil libertarians, to argue that the courage and fortitude these boys have shown in refusing an act which their conscience abhors, will be of true value to the Belgium they love. Monsieur Spaak's address is: Rue de La Loi, Brussels, Belgium.

And if the UNITY readers will send a check, care of the War Resisters League, or the Women's Peace Union, 4 Stone St., New York, we shall gladly forward it to the War Resisters International, for the urgent work among European C. O.'s, who seem so truly, in the menacing present, prisoners of hope.

New York City. TRACY D. MYGATT.

Commending Dr. Harris

Editor of UNITY:

I wish to commend the article against Euthanasia. A fine article. Nearly every argument in it was similar to my own thoughts—but SO much better expressed, and also backed by statistics or facts—that I uttered in confused chatter to my husband when I read a recent UNITY article in favor of Euthanasia. I compliment the author—or I would like to. Every word of it seems to me just right.

New London, N. H. PEARL G. PHILBRICK.

Thanks for UNITY

Editor of UNITY:

Thank you so much for UNITY, which I receive regularly. I tell the people it is the best journal published in the United States. I cannot praise it too much. I only wish you had a larger circulation. There surely must be thousands of enlightened people who believe in this wonderful paper.

Stratford, Ontario. JOHN ROWLAND.

AMERICA'S PURPOSE

By

ALFRED J. SNYDER

"The indispensable work-book of American democracy."—**Dynamic America.**

"A subject which is no less than vital to our civilization."—**Dr. Jesse H. Holmes.**

"Has admirably caught the spirit of our humanistic democracy."—**Dr. Chas. A. Beard.**

"Alfred J. Snyder should be thanked by every American for his book, 'America's Purpose.' "—**John Cournos, New Haven Register.**

"A veritable treasure-store of American fact and principle."—**Gwyn Thomas, Democrat & Chronicle.**

"Mr. Snyder seems to have sounded out what may well be the common belief of the average American."—**Brooklyn Daily Eagle.**

"This is a timely book well worth the attention of every thinking American."—**Municipal Reference Library of New York City.**

" 'America's Purpose' is one of the most provocative books released in recent years."—**A. P. Bryan, The Lexington Herald-Leader.**

"Mr. Snyder presents a logical, masterful survey of past and present America and what he writes is clear-cut and logical."—**The San Diego Sun.**

"A truly inspiring and tremendous concept." —**Warren E. Schutt (KYW).**

$3.00 (postpaid)

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The Field

(*Continued from page 2*)

which even some apparent success of hers is sure to bend down to the dust, loaded with a fatal burden of failure.

Our only consolation lies in the hope that the deliberate aggression of violence that has assailed your country will bear a sublime meaning in the heroic suffering it causes in a promise of the birth of a new soul of the nation. You are the only great people in the world who never had the snobbishness of extolling the military power as one of the glorious characteristics of national spirit, and when the same brute force of militarism with its hideous efficiency has overtaken your country we pray with all our heart that you may come out of this trial once again to be able to justify your trust in the true heroism of higher humanity in this cowardly world ready to prove traitor to its own best ideals. Even if a mere physical success be immediately missed by you, yet your moral gain will never be lost and the seeds of victory that are being sown through this terrible struggle in the depth of your being will over and over again prove their deathlessness.—*United Press of India.*

Anaesthetics for the Moral Sense

Temps Present, independent Catholic journal of Paris, France, reported recently on the disastrous deadening of moral *sensibilities* which accompanies long-range killing in modern war. Take for example the bomber high up in his plane.

> He does not observe more than the general outline of the landscape below him from which all human beings have disappeared. The effects of his bombing escape him entirely except in the form of flames and smoke.
>
> The bomber must learn to imagine in human terms the results of his mechanical act. He must envision the frightened eyes and the shrieks of women, the dead bodies of little children on the blood-stained streets, and all the monotonous butchery of modern war of which the news reel transmits only a highly refined, if not censored, account. If he had the necessary imagination to see these things, would he have sufficient courage to drop the eggs of fire from his aluminum bird?

Long-distance killing has simply dulled the moral sense. "Men who could never bring themselves to plunge a dagger into an enemy's breast, will fire cold-bloodedly on human beings a mile away. They even get a certain pleasure out of this, as though they were practising in a shooting gallery to fire on some moving target." A revival of the sense of individual responsibility and of the value of human life would make this impossible.

—*Nofrontier News Service*